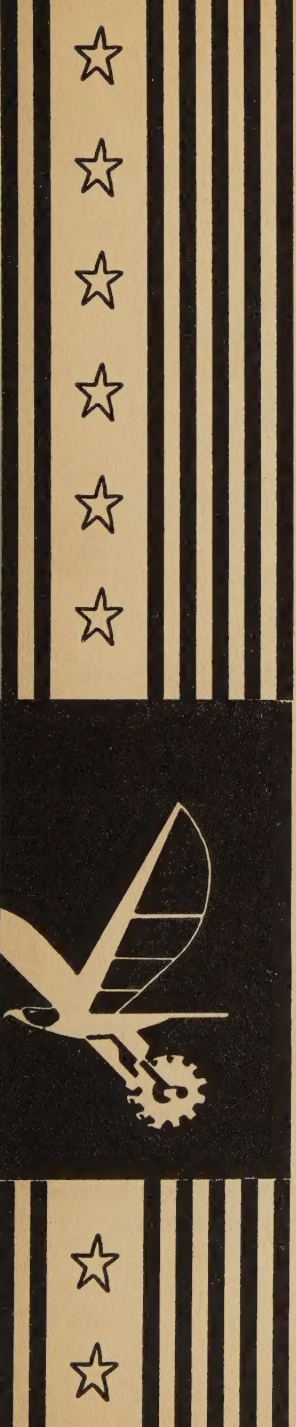

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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ROUND TABLE

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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

STRIKES AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

RALEIGH W. STONE

and the

ROVING REPORTER

369th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 157

MARCH 16, 1941

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

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No. 157

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

STRIKES AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

RALEIGH W. STONE, Associate Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Chicago

and

THE ROVING REPORTER

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, March 16, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

STRIKES AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

•

REPORTER: In my capacity as Roving Reporter, I interviewed Mr. Roosevelt last night.

MR. DOUGLAS: You mean, you interviewed him along with seventy-five million other radio listeners!

REPORTER: Don't interrupt me! I interviewed Mr. Roosevelt last night, and Mr. Roosevelt said to me. . . . .

MR. DOUGLAS: And to everyone else!

REPORTER: Yes, he said we could not allow profits and strikes to interfere with the national defense program.[1]

MR. STONE: I did not understand him to say that. He said we could not allow profiteering and unnecessary strikes.

REPORTER: That's right! It was "profiteering and unnecessary strikes," and I think we want to find out what unnecessary strikes are. First of all though, what impressed me as I went around talking to both workers and employers was, however they

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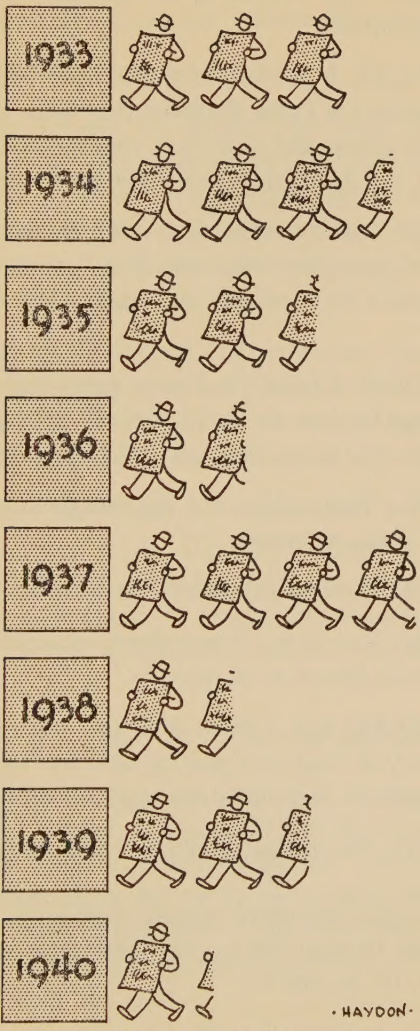
[1] *In his address to the White House Correspondents' Association Saturday evening, March 15, President Roosevelt said: "The determination of America must not be obstructed by war profiteering. It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management, or by deliberate sabotage."*

NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES PER HUNDRED WORKERS EMPLOYED



EACH FIGURE EQUALS ONE STRIKER

might have disagreed on every other question, they agreed on this: they did not know what the facts were.

Now Douglas, you are an expert, along with Stone; you have been in this "experting" business for a long time. What are the facts on this strike situation?

MR. DOUGLAS: If we take the year 1940 we find from the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that there were only about a third as many strikes and strikers in 1940 as there were in 1916, and only about half as many as in the first war year of 1917.[2]

MR. STONE: In other words, 1940 was a relatively calm year so far as industrial peace was concerned. But 1941 is different. If we make a comparison between 1940 and 1941 we get into a different situation.

MR. DOUGLAS: I think you have a point there. Strikes have increased, during the last six weeks particularly, but from the information I am able to get they are still below the 1916 volume.

MR. STONE: That's right, but the rate of increase is the important thing, in my judgment.

REPORTER: Do we know exactly what the rate of increase is?

MR. STONE: Yes, we do. There have been approximately twice as many strikes in March as in January.

MR. DOUGLAS: And I think it is also true that people are afraid not merely of what is happening now, but they are afraid of what may happen in coal and steel and autos in April and May.

MR. STONE: Yes, if this should be the beginning of a move-

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[2] *There were 1,600,000 workers involved in strikes in 1916, 1,225,000 in 1917, 580,000 in 1940; for a graphic presentation of strike data, see pages 6, 11, 15, 19, and 21.*

ment in strikes and it keeps on going up at that rate, in the course of three or four months it will really be serious.

REPORTER: You have given us some statistics. A great wag, I believe, said there were liars, and terrible liars, and statisticians.

MR. DOUGLAS: He said even worse.

REPORTER: I know, but we don't use terms like that on the ROUND TABLE. I ran into a government official in Chicago (let me say it was *not* Mr. Roosevelt) who told me that the statistics do not reveal the real picture of the strike situation, and that if we want to find out what the strike situation is we have to look not at the statistics but at the kind of war this is.

MR. DOUGLAS: This is not only a total war, but it is a mechanized war. Airplanes and tanks and guns play a much more crucial part in this war than in the last war, and anything that shuts off production (of airplanes in particular) will cause great trouble.

MR. STONE: This is also true: inasmuch as we are getting into an "all-out" program for war (President Roosevelt said this is an "all-out" effort), it won't be long until you can't make any significant distinction between the defense industries and most of the non-defense industries. They are all related—one dependent upon another.[3]

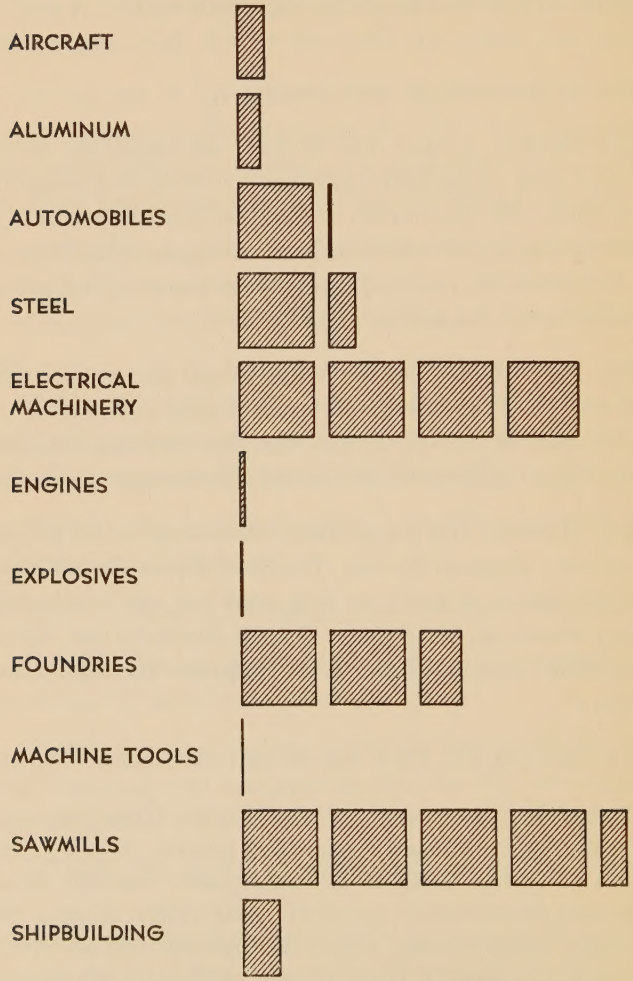
MR. DOUGLAS: They will in part be dependent upon each

[3] *The "Labor Speeds Defense" report of the Labor Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission lists the following eleven industries as "closely related to national defense": aircraft; aluminum; automobiles; blast furnaces, steel works, rolling mills; electrical machinery; engine manufacturing; explosives; foundries and machine shops; machine tools; sawmills, logging camps, millwork; and shipbuilding.* *See illustration, page 6.*

STRIKES AND NATIONAL DEFENSE: 1940

Man-Days Lost during Strikes in 11 Important Industries

DATA: LABOR DIVISION, NDAC



EACH COMPLETE SQUARE EQUALS 100,000 MAN-DAYS
TOTAL FOR ALL INDUSTRIES IN 1940: 6,500,000

other, but it will still be true that airplanes and tanks and ships will perhaps be more important and the industries which either directly or indirectly produce those products will be the most important.

MR. STONE: Those industries will be relatively more important, but all industries will be important. We ought to distinguish, I think, some special cases. Take the Universal Cyclops Steel strike: there are only about ten thousand dollars' worth of war orders involved, but inasmuch as that company makes the steel that goes into fuses, it is tying up a third of our fuse production.

MR. DOUGLAS: That is true, and bottlenecks, as they are called, can be of tremendous significance, and strikes which seem to be small may have very great repercussions.

REPORTER: Your point, then, gentlemen, is that this is a war of machinery primarily—not a war of men—and we can't let machinery stand still.

MR. STONE: There is also the case of the Allis-Chalmers Company, which manufactures material for powder plants. The facts are that we just don't have enough powder to fight a war at all and that we must get these powder plants built. Anything that holds up that machinery holds up the facilities for war.[4]

REPORTER: We get the picture, then, that we can have small strikes tying up the whole program (or a lot of it), so that the size of the strikes does not show us the real situation.[5]

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[4] *The strike at Allis-Chalmers, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, began January 22, 1941. An estimated $45,000,000 defense order is involved.*

[5] *As in the case of the strike last week at the Havrill Aircraft Die-casting Corporation in Inglewood, California, where 425 workers struck for higher wages, charging the company's profits had risen while their wages remained stationary.*

People seem to think that the strike situation is extremely serious. Whether or not they know the facts, people whom I have been talking to take a very personal, serious attitude toward it. An old gray-haired lady, who takes tickets at a cafeteria, pounded the counter and said: "We've got to do something about these strikers!" My barber was scalping me the other day and he said: "The unions have got to back down; it's not patriotic to argue about profits." I found that opinion all the way down the line, especially from middle-class people. There seems to be a tremendous amount of seriousness about the problem that we haven't run into before, and the unions, by and large, are blamed for it.

MR. DOUGLAS: Well, I think that is in part because when the unions get into a dispute with employers over the terms of their contract or over their status and they can't reach a satisfactory agreement, they think that their only recourse is to go out on strike and stop production. They are put, therefore, in a category of apparently jamming the works because they interfere with the *status quo.*

MR. STONE: In other words, everything that they do is out in the open and they are the aggressors because they are asking for something.

REPORTER: They are out in front, then; is that it?

MR. STONE: Yes, they are out in front.

MR. DOUGLAS: Just a minute! Let us remember, however, that if an employer disagrees on the terms of the contract which the government offers to him he can refuse to produce (he can refuse for a considerable time, that is), by arguing over the terms of that contract, and he can do it quietly and no one will know that he is doing it. Therefore, he is in a more sheltered position so far as public opinion is concerned than the workers.

REPORTER: There is no question raised about his right to stall on a contract, or his right to argue about the terms.

MR. STONE: I think there *are* questions raised about that. President Roosevelt, in his press conference, mentioned two businessmen who were not coming through with requests to do business.

MR. DOUGLAS: But the public doesn't find out about them.

MR. STONE: Well, it was in the newspapers. It just doesn't get publicized so much as these overt acts, such as strikes.

REPORTER: A lot of evidence in correspondence from our listeners indicates that people blame the unions for this trouble. I picked up a letter today from an apple-grower in Oregon who wrote: "We have stood these strikes long enough, and, by golly, if we farmers can't strike the workers in the cities don't have a right to strike."

Do they have a right to strike?

MR. DOUGLAS: In peacetime we have always believed that they had a right to strike; that people had the right to quit work individually; and that what people had the right to do individually they had the right to do collectively.

MR. STONE: But there has always been one condition. It has been fairly well established that workers don't have the right to strike against the government; and now we are in a situation in which a strike is in many respects a strike against the government, against the whole people.[6]

MR. DOUGLAS: I think that is what causes a great deal of the difficulty. The products which are produced are for the govern-

[6] *At the time of the WPA strikes in the summer of 1939, President Roosevelt warned WPA workers against "striking against the government."*

ment, but they are being produced by private employers and, therefore, the workers frequently think that they are striking against private employers and perhaps don't realize that they impede governmental preparations. It isn't a full answer to tell them that they are producing solely for the government, because they are also producing for private employers.

REPORTER: The question, then, is whether or not this is a crisis of importance sufficient to require the sacrifice of the right to strike. Is this right to strike fundamental? My farmer out in Oregon denies that there is any such right.

MR. STONE: There can't possibly be any absolute right to strike. The right to strike, like all other rights, is a limited right. When the national interest is at stake, then the rights of individuals and groups will have to give way.

REPORTER: I interviewed a paper manufacturer on the West Side of Chicago. He said that, as far as he could see, when it came to civil liberties (including the right to strike) the whole question was one of production. "We must produce; everything must be sacrificed to production, and if we don't sacrifice the civil liberties of groups," he says, "we will sacrifice the civil liberties of all of us."

MR. STONE: That is exactly the remark that President Roosevelt made (when he interviewed you).[7]

REPORTER: Yes, he said something to that effect when he indicated that this was to be an "all-out" program. We are agreed, aren't we, that this *is* an "all-out" program?

MR. DOUGLAS: I think we should be.

REPORTER: Rights may have to be sacrificed?

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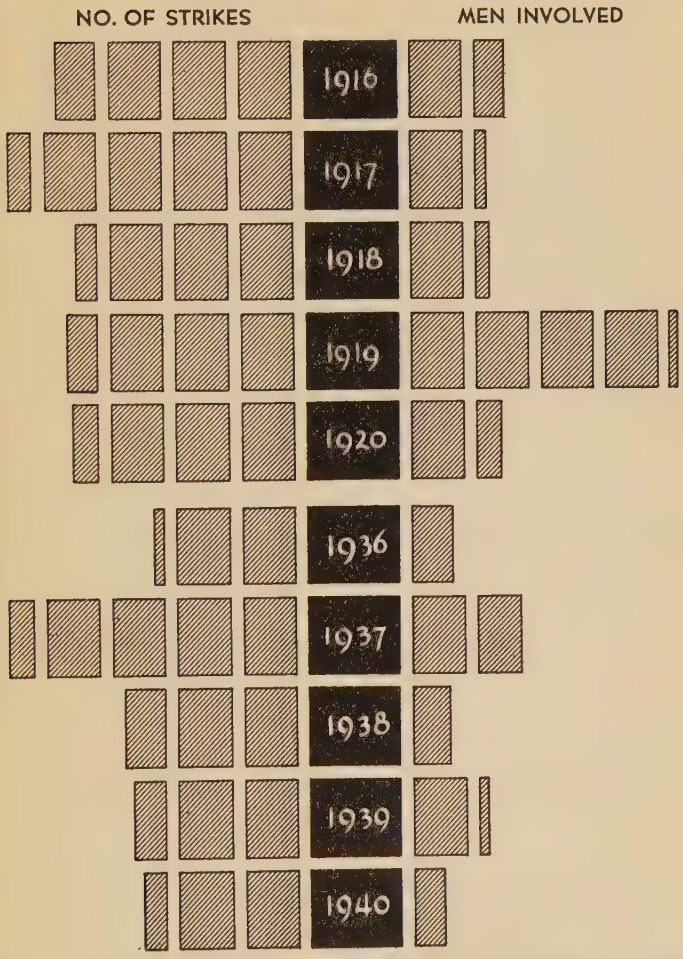
[7] *"Unless we win, there will be no freedom for either management or labor" was the phrase President Roosevelt used in his March 15 speech.*

STRIKES: A COMPARISON

1916-1920 and 1936-1940



MR. DOUGLAS: If they come in conflict with the fundamental necessity that we face of having to beat Hitler.

MR. STONE: It has not been an "all-out" program up to this date, but President Roosevelt was telling us that it must be from now on.

REPORTER: All right! We have the problem, then, of identifying the fundamental issues behind this situation. I find that a lot of the laborers admit very frankly that they are trying to strengthen their position; they are taking advantage of this crisis to strengthen their position. The president of one of the locals in a little steel plant out in the South Chicago area told me that this was their chance to organize. The company had kept them from organizing for a long time, he said, and they are going to organize now, because the company could not shut down and throw them out.

MR. STONE: Yes, and the employers, on the other hand, are also taking advantage of the situation, within limits, to protect and preserve their own position, so that there is a major struggle over what shall be the status of these two groups in our American economy.

MR. DOUGLAS: That is true. What we have is the group interest . . . .

MR. STONE: That's right!

MR. DOUGLAS: . . . . to survive, as well as individual interests.

MR. STONE: And down below this I suppose you found that workers are genuinely concerned about some of the risks and uncertainties which they face.

REPORTER: Not only workers, but employers. Apart from

what seemed to be the obvious fact that each group is trying to strengthen its own position—taking advantage of the situation—both the workers and the employers are worried about the risks they face.

The typical employee whom I encountered (not a union man, but a piano-tuner) pointed out that in the last war, "We workers had to make all the sacrifices; we are not going to do it this time."

MR. STONE: Well, they did sacrifice a good deal last time, but industry also made sacrifices because a great many of them were not able to hold onto war profits. Industries lost their markets; they had capacities which they could not use after the war; prices were low on account of that. So there are risks involved for everyone. I don't quite see how we can go ahead with an "all-out" effort without taking those risks, do you, Douglas?

MR. DOUGLAS: Well, the risks will be there, but it seems that society should protect individuals against the risks as far as possible.

MR. STONE: That's right, but, after all, that must be secondary to the emergency situation we are now trying to face.

MR. DOUGLAS: And the protection should be mutual. It should be for both groups and not for just one group.

REPORTER: Who is to do the protecting?

MR. DOUGLAS: The community will have to protect both groups.

REPORTER: Through the government?

MR. DOUGLAS: Through the government, which is its agent.

REPORTER: Well, the employers who are going to have to shut down their plants after the war, and maybe go bankrupt, have a counterpart in the workers who tell me that they are going to be

fired after the war and that they want to get all the profits they can as reserves. Who is going to protect both of them, and how?

MR. DOUGLAS: Well, on certain of the contracts the government is bearing the costs of constructing new plants with the proviso that those plants will not enter into competition with other employers after the war, and similarly it will have to assume some responsibility for transferring the workers from the war industries to other work, and protecting them if they do not get work.

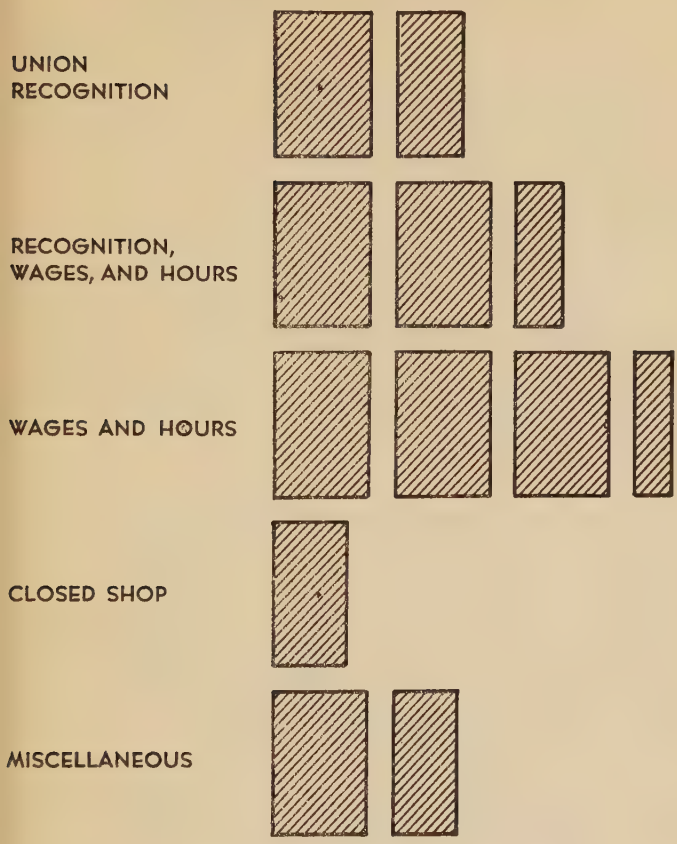
MR. STONE: Yes, it seems to me (Douglas, you probably will agree) that at this time workers and the government ought to be concerned with setting up programs for dismissal wages, programs for extending unemployment compensation benefits, and other methods of adjustment after the war.

MR. DOUGLAS: And a building program which will absorb idle workers, if possible.

REPORTER: A typical worker whom I ran into out at the International Harvester plant, where there is a fairly big defense strike going on, said that what concerned the union members was that they did not know whether the boss was taking these profits to buy himself new limousines and yachts or whether he was actually putting them into reserves that he had to have.

MR. STONE: It seems to me that the newspapers have been responsible for misinforming people about the profit situation. It is true that profits were pretty good in 1940, but many of these industries which showed high profits were operating at capacity, or near capacity. The rate of return on investment was not excessively high. You need only to look at the stock market price of securities to see that nobody thinks business is going to make much money out of this war.

CAUSES OF STRIKES



EACH RECTANGLE EQUALS 10 PER CENT

DATA: SEPTEMBER, 1940=210 STRIKES
U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

MR. DOUGLAS: But just as the strike statistics for 1940 do not indicate the present situation, so the profit figures for 1940 do not indicate the present situation.

MR. STONE: They do unless we have a substantial rise in prices and an increase in manufacturing profits.

MR. DOUGLAS: Wait a minute!

REPORTER: Let's you and him fight!

MR. DOUGLAS: There has been a tremendous increase in war orders this year; business did not have many actual war orders in 1940. This year it does have them and there is every prospect of a very substantial increase in profits in 1941. In view of that fact I think it is only natural to expect workers to want an increase in wages.

MR. STONE: Take the steel industry; it has been running at capacity. There is no great chance for it to get more profit through greater capacity.

REPORTER: These working men I have talked to, including some of the local officials of the coal miners who were threatening to strike, point out that prices as well as profits are going to rise and they have to have some protection against the rise.

MR. STONE: President Roosevelt has promised that there is not going to be a significant rise in prices; that he is going to do everything possible to stop it. Within limits, he can do that if he will follow the correct tax and borrowing program.

MR. DOUGLAS: To promise is one thing; to perform is another. I remember in 1916 and in the first part of 1917 President Wilson said there was to be no increase in prices; but prices and the cost of living skyrocketed with the result that since hourly wages were not increasing so rapidly as prices and the cost of living, *real*

wages per hour fell. I think you are getting demands for wage increases at the present time because of that.[8]

REPORTER: Professors, I want to get some agreement on this question of prices and wages. Is there any way to keep prices from going up? Can the government effectively control prices?

MR. DOUGLAS: The chief way it can prevent prices from rising is by a very vigorous policy of taxation rather than by borrowing from the banks, and to the extent that it does borrow it should borrow from the savings of individuals rather than merely having the banks increase their paper loans, which would simply skyrocket prices.

MR. STONE: To answer the question specifically, you would agree that the government *can* do it; it is a question of whether or not it *will* do it.

MR. DOUGLAS: It is a question of whether the people will be willing to bear the sacrifices.

MR. STONE: That's right!

REPORTER: If it *is* the government, we have finally gotten down to people, and it is the people who have to take the steps. We get to the question, What can we do about all this?

I talked to my shoemaker the other night. He keeps his shop open nights (and always has). He said: "I can't compete with the other shoemakers who keep their shops open nights unless I do." He pointed out that the United States can't compete with a country like Nazi Germany, which keeps its shops open nights, unless the

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[8] *The Bureau of Labor Statistics, using 1935–1939 averages as 100, gives a figure of 121 for living costs in June, 1919, 135.3 in December, 1919, and 149.4 in June, 1920. Thereafter the figure fell to 118.7 in 1922 and rose to 128.2 in 1935, falling to 90.8 in June, 1933.*

United States does too. He said: "I don't see how we are going to beat an 80-hour week with a 40-hour week, and the government has got to give up some of these favors it has given to labor unions."

MR. DOUGLAS: Of course, remember this: the 40-hour week does not mean that the workers cannot work more than 40 hours. It merely means that overtime bonuses will be paid for the hours in excess of 40. It is not like the French 40-hour week.

MR. STONE: No, but the reason for the 40-hour week has already passed, wouldn't you agree, Douglas?

MR. DOUGLAS: You mean, the original reason was to share employment?

MR. STONE: That's right!

REPORTER: If the government is going to have to do something progressive about this situation, what steps can it take? I see by the papers that we are about to get some sort of mediation board appointed by the President. Will that solve the problem?

MR. STONE: I think it might help a great deal if the government were to establish a mediation board and clearly and effectively define the boundaries within which that board should work.[9] I think they could go a long way on the voluntary basis to bring about an adjudication of the difficulties which are now producing these strikes and which threaten to produce still worse strikes.

MR. DOUGLAS: You mean that unions would not strike while the case was being mediated by this national board?

MR. STONE: That's right! The executive order setting up such

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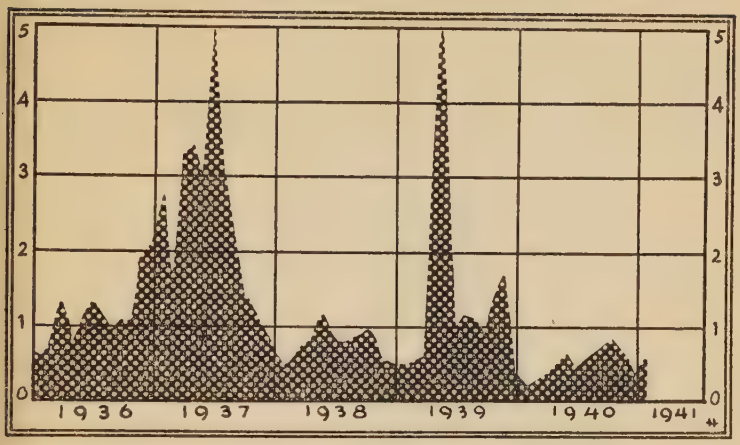
[9] *The establishment of such a board has been approved by William Green of the A.F. of L. and opposed by Philip Murray, head of the C.I.O.*



a board might prescribe a waiting period, a so-called "cooling off" period, or it might be able to get that mostly through voluntary agreement. But I think there ought to be some waiting period to give this board time to act.

REPORTER: If that doesn't work, what do we have to have? If mediation fails and these strikes go on, then where do we go?

MR. STONE: I think Douglas is rather favorably disposed toward Murray's proposition.

MR. DOUGLAS: As you both know, Mr. Murray (head of the C.I.O.), proposed three months ago that boards should be set up in the major industries, composed of representatives of employers and workers, who would try to adjust these disputes and establish general conditions of collective bargaining for each industry.

MR. STONE: It is my notion that that might have consider-

able virtue, but there is one grave danger involved. That is, if we want to set up cartels, cartelize our whole industry, establish that kind of monopoly control, this would be a most remarkable instrument for effecting that objective.

MR. DOUGLAS: I am opposed to price-fixing by the employers or workers in an industry.

MR. STONE: Then you would have to prescribe strictly that these industry boards would have nothing to do with anything except labor relations matters.

MR. DOUGLAS: That's right: wages, hours, working conditions, recognition, adjustment of disputes, etc.

REPORTER: You mentioned the word "cartel." I know that a cartel isn't the same thing as a small cart, but what the dickens is it?

MR. STONE: I mean this: an industry-and-labor board that would sit around a table and agree not only upon matters of joint relations between the workers and management for the entire industry . . . .

REPORTER: This is in each industry?

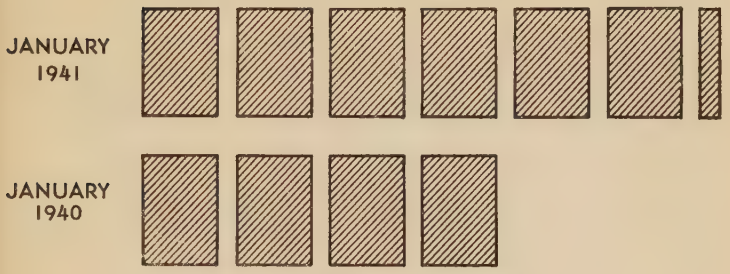
MR. STONE: (in each industry) . . . . but it would be almost inevitable that such a board would also consider trade practices and prices and the allocation of production, the question of expansion of the industry, control over supply, and all sorts of other questions that would lead to tight monopolies.

REPORTER: Isn't that pretty much the same as Mussolini's corporative system in Italy?

MR. STONE: It would be just the same if you generalized it and gave it government sanction. Then we would have essentially a corporative type of industrial economy.

MAN-DAYS LOST IN STRIKES

1941 Compared with 1940



EACH RECTANGLE EQUALS 100,000 MAN-DAYS

REPORTER: Douglas, you know something about Italy from personal experience, how can we keep that from being something like fascism?

MR. DOUGLAS: The corporations in Italy are more or less jokes, and I am opposed to having these joint boards deal with prices and the determination of total production. That should not be their function, and they should not be permitted to do that. They can be useful, however, in adjusting labor disputes, and I think, as long as we keep a free press, free speech, and free elections in this country, and different political parties, there is no danger of our becoming a fascist state.

REPORTER: These cartels of yours and this compulsory arbitration, if we get to it, are going to mean modification of the Wagner Act, aren't they?

MR. STONE: Did we agree about compulsory arbitration? What about it, Douglas?

MR. DOUGLAS: I don't think we had agreed on that yet. If the crisis should become terribly severe, and if in crucial industries we

had unions insisting on tying up production, and employers refusing to listen to reason, then we might have to resort to such methods. But it seems to me we should come to that as a last resort.

MR. STONE: Don't you think, though, that in setting up a plan now, inasmuch as we are right on the threshold of an emergency situation, that that should be in the background, and used only as a last resort after all of the available. . . . .

MR. DOUGLAS: I don't think it should be in the foreground, because the more compulsion we use in such matters the more sullenness we are likely to breed.

MR. STONE: Yes, and we must have cooperation.

MR. DOUGLAS: And people must do a thing because they *want* to do it, as far as possible, rather than because they are *compelled* to do it.

REPORTER: That's a beautiful picture, but every workingman and every employer I've talked to is dead set against any compulsion from the government. Unions and trade associations are afraid that the government is going to take them over.

MR. DOUGLAS: That is why we should use and attempt to get voluntary cooperation as far as possible, and I think that that will be sufficient in 95 per cent of the cases. There may be a few stubborn persons.

MR. STONE: Don't you agree with me that probably there are some modifications of the Wagner Act in order? Sometimes even the rights created under laws need modification. I have reference to two or three changes that I think ought to be made. I think we ought to forbid strikes for closed shops; we ought to forbid strikes for check-offs; we should forbid unions exercising monopolistic restraints on membership in the entrance to a trade.

REPORTER: There are a lot of squawks about initiation fees for people on temporary work.

MR. STONE: Yes. I don't think they ought to be allowed to restrict entry to a trade, and I'd go further and say that jurisdictional disputes ought to be made a matter of settlement.

REPORTER: Do you think that is necessary, Douglas?

MR. DOUGLAS: I would say that it is also necessary to have employers obey the law; that this obligation to follow the law and to cooperate is a mutual one.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. Compare the number of strikes in 1940 with the number in 1916 and 1917. Page 4.
2. What significant change in the number of strikes in 1941 is responsible for current discussions of labor's right to strike? Page 4.
3. Cite an example of how one strike can affect the production of an important defense item being manufactured in several factories. Page 7.
4. Why are unions "blamed" for strikes? Page 8.
5. What two post-war contingencies are cited as reasons for labor striking for better conditions at this time? Pages 13–14, 16.
6. How is the government going to protect industry after the war from losses due to excess productive capacity and competition from plants erected for the emergency? Page 14.
7. How do 1941 defense orders compare with 1940 orders? How will profits compare? Page 16.
8. How was the position of the worker affected in the last war by rising prices? Page 16.
9. What are said to be the proper duties of the proposed mediation board? Page 20.
10. What other powers might the board assume? With what foreign system might such a setup be compared? Under what conditions? Page 20.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 26.

*

1. Why may labor unions consider the present emergency an "appropriate" time to attempt to improve their position? Discuss.
2. Compare the importance of productive capacity in the present war with its importance during the last war. Illustrate.
3. Demonstrate ways in which the distribution of defense orders on a "piecemeal" basis make for greater interdependence of industries and for more serious and widespread effects of strikes in individual defense factories.
4. In what respect is it suggested that manufacturers may cause delays equivalent in importance to delays caused by strikes without a comparable amount of unfavorable public reaction?
5. Do you agree that the "right to strike" is not absolute? Suggest circumstances under which, in your opinion, strikes should not be permitted because they "interfere with the national interest."
6. Do you believe the proposed mediation board would successfully eliminate delays in production now caused by strikes? Discuss the duties and problems such a board would face.
7. It is suggested that the United States cannot compete with Nazi Germany as long as German industry operates on an 80-hour week and American industry maintains a 40-hour week, with overtime. Discuss.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bloch, H.-S.; Lange, Oskar; Harbison, F. H.; and Lewis, H. Gregg, *Economic Mobilization.* Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. *A discussion of the mobilization of labor and industry in the defense effort.*

"Definite Labor Policy Urged to Insure Peace in Industry," *Business Week*, February 3, 1941. *A discussion of some of the issues underlying present defense strikes, with charts on wages, cost of living, corporate profits, and workers' hours.*

"Labor and Defense," *New Republic*, February 17, 1941. *A survey of current labor difficulties in steel, aircraft, and coal, with some comments on the right to strike in the present crisis.*

"Labor Speeds Defense," a pamphlet published by the Labor Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission, Washington, D.C. *An official summary of labor and defense, with valuable tables on strikes in defense industries and a recapitulation of the labor policy of the Commission.*

Lawrence, David, "A National Policy to Avoid Strikes," *United States News*, February 28, 1941. *An appeal for a positive program for strike prevention in the urgency of the present emergency.*

"No Walkout on Labor Policy," *Business Week*, March 1, 1941. *An evaluation of labor-curbing legislation now before Congress and chances for its success, with a brief description of the techniques of voluntary conciliation.*

Reynolds, Lloyd G., and the Labor Committee, the Twentieth Century Fund, *Labor and National Defense.* New York: the Twentieth Century Fund, 1941. *A survey of special labor problems arising in connection with the national defense effort and a suggested program of action for the solution of these problems.*

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Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
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Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1210

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